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S E Q U E L

OF A

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P A M P H L E T

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Writings

OF THE

CR A F T S M A N .

*Nec Lex est justior ulla
quam necis Artifices arte perire suâ.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane.
1730.

T 1813

Periodical Publications

K Europe -
St Martin St
London -

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S E Q U E L *173*

OF A

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O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N T H E

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SEQUEL

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PAMPHLET, &c.

I Ought to preface this Paper with an Apology to the Author of the *Observations*, for the Title I have chosen; since it looks as if I thought any thing necessary to be added to a Book that in three Sheets has exposed the Motives and Tendency of all

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the *elaborate Scandal* of as many Years.

N O R should I be less unjust to that Work, in seeming to imagine that the *quaint, loose Piece* that calls itself an Answer, deserves any Reply ; I therefore declare I do not mean this Paper as such, and will neither return that Author's *Shuttlecock* nor his *Bull*, by making Remarks on his Performance as he promises (Page the 4th) he will do on the Observations, *without any Regard to the Thing it self, or the Author of it.*

A L L I shall say is, that I am now less surprized Mr. *Danvers* should grudge the *French* any Recruits in *Ireland*, since it is so plain he makes his own there.

B U T since the *Craftsman* insists so much on his Authority from History, for all the Propositions he advances, and on his Fidelity to his Authors in all his Quotations, I shall
take

take the Liberty to give one Example at least of his deviating from these Rules ; that he may no longer Eccho back to his Opponents, a Defiance so often thrown to his own Clan, of producing any particular Instance to justify a general Charge.

I suppose the Fear of growing tedious, prevented the Author of the Observations from descending too minutely into Proofs of this Nature ; and the same Consideration will make me confine my self (at least for the present) to one only.

T H A T one shall be to justify a Passage in the Observations, where it is said, *that the Craftsman's Accounts of the Dead, are sometimes little juster than his Suggestions of the Living ; and that he hardly asperses the Memory of the One, less than he falsifies the Character of the other.*

A Practice not less injudicious in the *Craftsman* than unfair, since it is
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a corroborating Proof, together with his *Italicks*, of the Credit due to his Sincerity, when he disclaims any Parallels or Allusions meant in his Writings, and endeavours poorly and childishly by the Doctrine of *qui capit ille facit*, to transfer the Treason from the Authors, to the Expounders of his Papers.

IN his Dissertation upon *Edward the Fourth's Queen*, he insists strongly, that the Downfal of the House of *York*, was intirely owing to the bad Policy of her Conduct.

BUT in Opposition to this Assertion, I beg Leave to offer my Thoughts to the Publick, and will produce no Authority to justify a contrary Opinion, but Extracts from his own Gospel, the History of *Rapin*.

FROM thence it will plainly appear, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, were the Principal Actors in this wicked Scene,

Scene, that contributed Step by Step to transfer the Crown back from the House of *York* to the Earl of *Richmond*, who was then the only remaining Branch of that of *Lancaster*.

This Prince (afterwards *Henry the Seventh*) had long lived an Exile from his own Country, almost forgotten there, and in all probability had died so, if the Ambition and Intrigues of these *two Men*, had not, by the Commotions they made in the State, wrought a Change in his Favour, which the poor weak Remnants of his own drooping Faction, without such Recruits, could never have effected.

IF this was the Case, it cannot sure be thought improper here, previously to consider the Characters of these two Men.

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F O R

FOR the Duke of Gloucester, the whole World knows, that as his Crimes made him the Detestation of his Contemporaries, and a Reproach to his Adherents, so will they render his Name odious to all Posterity, and the proverbial Infamy of every bad Man that shall ever be compared to him.

RAPIN in the Fourth Vol. of his History, Pag. 374, says, *that if Credit is to be given to the Generality of Historians, the Faults of his Heart were so great and so numerous, that it would be difficult to find another Character equally bad in all History.*

I doubt not but I shall be told by the Flatterers of the Duke, and Libellers of the Queen, that Rapin in the same Page tells us too, *it was the Fashion for the Writers in the Reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth, to exaggerate his Crimes, in order to make their court to the Prince upon the Throne.*

BUT

BUT the only Example *Rapin* gives of this Fact, is the Imputation of his having committed two Murthers with his own Hand ; which, whether he officiated at the Execution or not, nobody doubts his advising and contriving.

RAPIN tells us, Page 374, that his immeasurable Ambition put him upon several Actions unworthy of a Christian ; for tho' Ambition, says he, may be pleaded in Extenuation of some slight Failings, yet the Enormity of his Crimes, was not excusable even by that Passion.

THE best he can say of him, (and what no body will deny) is, that he did not want, what is call'd *Parts*: Which might have acquired him (as he says) a much better Reputation if they had taken a righter Turn, and been applied to other Uses.

HE adds to this an Encomium upon his Judgment, which I look upon to be

more disputable ; he calls it *tres solide*, but several Instances he gives in the Course of his History, where that Judgment fail'd him, solid as it was. One Example of its being defective, and in a very material Occurrence may be seen Pag. 371.

ANOTHER Point in which *Rapin* affects to commend him, (either from a vanity in running Counter to received Opinions, or that of being able to discover what has slip'd the Observations of others) is the great Regard he had for the Administration of Justice ; but this Regard he acknowledges was shewn in such Cases only, as never interfered with his own particular Interest ; for wherever that was in the least Degree concerned, he owns, Pag. 375, that *the Duke made no Scruple of overturning all Laws, confounding all Right, and violating all Equity.*

So that this Shadow of a Commendation, in my Opinion amounts to no more than

than telling us, that he was always endeavouring to regulate the Conduct of others by Rules he never observed himself; and shew'd he knew enough of Right and Wrong, to prove that all his Faults were the Defects of his Heart, and not the Errors of his Understanding.

Pag. 375, Rapin says, there is a Pen that has endeavoured to whiten this Character; but as that Author is obliged in the Prosecution of such a Design, often to advance things which are not strictly true, so he has neither got any great Credit for himself by the Undertaking, nor contributed much to the Justification of his Hero.

THE Duke of Buckingham, according to Rapin, Pag. 346, was a Man of a lively, ready, and penetrating Capacity; extremely proud, ambitious, and revengeful.

HE had during the latter Part of the Reign of Edward the Fourth acted
often

often in Concert with the Duke of Gloucester, but the Reason of his attaching himself so much more closely to him upon the Accession of his Son, was the inveterate and irreconcilable Hatred he bore to the Queen.

Pag. 350. He is represented so warm in his Enmities, that in accounting for one of his Steps, *Rapin* says, *I describe the Duke of Buckingham, on this Occasion, acting upon a Principle of Revenge; because it is difficult to perswade one's self, that a Man of his Stamp could proceed on a more noble Motive.*

As these two Men were the *Incen-*
diaries of all the *Factions* in the Kingdom; I think it will be very easy to shew by what Steps their Conduct produced that Change, which is so improbably, as well as falsely ascribed to the Counsels of the Queen, who evidently had or could have Nothing at Heart, but the Security of her Husband, and the Succession of her Children, which
by

by no one violent Step she ever endan-
ger'd.

THE Family of *Edward* the Fourth was so numerous, and the Nation so weary of a disputed Title, (as the *Craftsman* has observ'd) that there was very little likelihood of the Failure of his Issue, and less Probability still of the People controverting anew his and their Right to the Crown; when the wicked and working Spirit of the Duke of *Gloucester*, first projected his Scheme of depriving the established and lawful Heirs of the Succession.

I cannot be justified by *Rapin* in saying *first projected*, since p. 317, we are told, *How difficult it is to discover when that Design was first laid by the Duke of Gloucester; but that every Step he made after the Death of Edward the Fourth, tended so directly to the deposing of his Son, that any one must be blind, not to perceive his whole Conduct, from that Time, was one uniform*

niform Series of Iniquity upon that Plan.

RAPIN tells us in the same Page, *That the Conduct of the Duke of Buckingham just at the Death of Edward the Fourth, makes it more doubtful what it was he designed; and whether he really at first intended to abet the Duke of Gloucester in setting aside the new King; or only endeavoured, from a Spirit of Ambition and Resentment, to work himself into the Administration, and overturn those employed in the late Reign.*

BUT it is very clear by all Accounts, that if the Duke of Buckingham was not at first an Accomplice in the Duke of Gloucester's Treachery, he was at least so long his Dupe, that he was forced to become the other at last.

Pag. 315. *Diffimulation (says Rapin) was the natural Growth of the Duke of Gloucester's Heart. Pag. 296 He never went to any End by plain and open*

open Roads, but always through the dark and crooked Paths of Policy.

Pag. 315. He made his court openly to the Queen, at the Time that he was secretly acting in Concert with the most avow'd and sworn Enemies of her and her Family.

ANOTHER Instance of his Hypocrisy and his Treachery may be seen, *Page 296*, where *Rapin* tells us, in his Account of the unfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, whilst he pretended to assist him, *widen'd secretly as much as in him lay the Breach betwixt the Duke and the King.*

Habington confirms this; saying, *Pag. 189.* in his History of *Edward the Fourth*; *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, upon whose Friendship he (meaning the Duke of *Clarence*) built most, deceived him most; for *Gloucester*, who studied nothing but his own Purposes, and cared not by what Violence

all Obstacles of Nature and Friendship were removed, so the Way were plain'd to his Ambition, endeavoured to add more Poyson to their Discontent.

THUS the Breasts that felt the deepest Wounds from the Duke of Gloucester, were generally not those that opposed, but those that received him.

I will not here launch into any long Digression, to prove the Unfairness of the *Craftsman* in imputing the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* to the Influence of the Queen ; but as it falls naturally under my Consideration, as being inserted in the same Paper of *October* the 3d, I cannot help making one short Remark, to show the Injustice with Regard to her, that runs through the whole Account of her Conduct.

It is certain, that as the Duke of *Clarence* was, till his Brother married, Heir presumptive to the Crown ; so his Ambition made him hate the Woman,

man, whose numerous Offspring had defeated all the Hopes he might ever have conceiv'd of wearing it.

AND as both *Habington* and *Rapin* agree, that he was not of a Make to conceal his Dislikes, but did from the natural Warmth of his Temper take all Occasions to irritate the Queen, it is reasonable to conclude, that she on her Part never did him many good Offices to the King, but very naturally and wisely employed all the Interest she had in her Husband to weaken his.

BUT as the Imputation of Cruelty was never urg'd by any Historian in any one Example against the Queen, and that the Duke of *Clarence* was no Obstacle to the Succession of her Children, who had an incontestible Right before him; and as on the other Hand, the Duke of *Clarence* was a Bar directly cross the Path of *Richard* to the Throne, (who, according to *Rapin*, p. 296. had already turn'd his Eyes

and Thoughts to that glittering Prospect) so it is much more probable in Speculation, as well as demonstrable, both from *Rapin* and *Habington*, that Things were push'd to Extremities against the Duke of *Clarence*, not by the Influence of the Queen, who had so little to fear from him, but by the Intrigues and Policy of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who regarded neither Right nor Wrong, Innocence or Guilt, Violence or Treachery, or any other Consideration whatever, (as has been before observed from *Rapin*) which he found the least Impediment to the Schemes of his Ambition, or the Dictates of his Interest.

To return to my Remarks on the Conduct of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, with regard to their Fatality to *the House of York*, I must observe, that though a Thirst of Power, and the consequential Enmity to those in whose Hands it was lodged, made their Cabals sometimes troublesome to the People in Favour with *Edward* the Fourth,

Fourth, yet as they had little Hope of any Change to their Advantage during his Reign, so their Attacks were much more languid than after his Decease.

IMMEDIATELY upon the Succession of his Son to the Crown, the Duke of *Gloucester* (according to *Rapin*, p. 317.) with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the rest of his Friends, consulted what Measures were the likeliest to divert the Stream of Power from those Channels in which it had flow'd during the late Reign.

THE Heads of *Gloucester's* Harangue to his own private Senate upon this Occasion, (page 318.) were, *The Reformation of the State, the Male-Administration of the Ministers of Edward the Fourth*, (who he said had never considered any thing but their own Advancement) *his own Abilities and Fitness to Govern, and his sincere Affection for the Person of the new King*; whole Murder, I must here observe, he

he then design'd, and afterwards effected.

THE Close of his Speech was, *That as he concluded all those who were present, like himself, had Nothing at Heart but the Welfare and Glory of the Nation, (the common Topicks of his Rhetorick whilst he was undermining both) so their Assistance, as well as that of all good English Men, was what he depended upon, and without which he could never hope to bring any of these salutary Schemes to bear.*

THE Result of this Conference was, that as there was no Hopes of succeeding by Violence and Force, so their Art and their Flattery was all they had to trust to.

UPON these Resolutions, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and their Party made the strongest Professions of their Affection to the new King, and their Allegiance to his Government.

ONE of these Dukes wrote a Letter to the Queen, pag. 319. *Wherein after the first Compliments of Condolence, he tells her with what Joy he sees all Hearts united in the same Sentiments, with regard to the new King; and that he himself should be one of the first to set an Example of Loyalty to the rest of the King's Subjects, by showing an unlimited Submission to his Will.*

THAT he did not doubt but she, in her Turn, would endeavour to promote the Welfare of the Nation, by uniting all Parties, and admitting without Distinction, the able and honest Men of both Sides into all Employments of Trust or Profit; and concludes with desiring her by all Means, immediately to disband the unnecessary Troops, raised by the Earl of Rivers in Wales, for the pretended Security of the King's Person in his Return to London.

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THE fatal Effect of this specious Letter, was the Queen's listening to his Advice, without any Suspicion of the latent Venom it contain'd, or imagining such Crimes projected, as before his Time History had given us no Examples of.

THE Ruin of those, with whom the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* pretended to be reconciled, was the first Consequence of the Success of this well-timed Flattery, *pag.* 321. and the Destruction of the King himself was nor far behind.

IN short, through Parricides and Murders, and a Sea of Blood deliberately shed, *Richard* the Third waded to the Throne; but being oblig'd to commit as many Outrages and Violences to maintain it, as he had done to acquire it, the Nation groaning under his Oppression, and exasperated by his Cruelties, in two Years Time dethroned him, and
placed

placed the Crown on the Head of *Henry* the Seventh.

I cannot help observing here, (tho' not much to my Historical Purpose) that his great Friend and Assistant the Duke of *Buckingham*, was the first (pag. 345.) who felt his Ingratitude in that bad Eminence, to which he was the chief Instrument in raising him.

PROSPERITY, as it often happens, soon disjoin'd two Men, whom Adversity had taught to act, as if they had but one Mind, one Interest, and one Heart; and those who had plotted together the Ruin of their King and their Country, became afterwards the mutual Instruments of each other's.

THAT the Descendants from the Duke of *York* were very numerous, has been already observed; but the Duke of *Gloucester* being the youngest Male Heir of that Line, was obliged to sacrifice all those before him in the

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Succession, in order to open himself a Passage to the Throne.

WHEN he was seated there, the Abhorrence the People had conceived for his Crimes, Person, and Character, made them chuse to cut off in him, the only surviving Male Branch of the House of *York*, rather than bow their Necks to the hard Yoke of the worst of Men.

NOR can there be a stronger Proof of the Rage of the People being confin'd solely to *Richard* the Third, without the least Enmity to the House of *York*, than their insisting, when they gave the Crown to the Earl of *Richmond*, that the first Female Heir of *Edward* the Fourth, should by Marriage enjoy it with him.

SINCE then the two great Weights that sunk the House of *York*, were the Murder of *Edward* the Fourth's Sons, and the Tyranny of the Usurper,

per, how ignorantly, or unfairly must those Authors reason, who impute the Misfortunes of that Family to the Conduct of *Edward* the Fourth's Queen?

THE only false Step she made, was suffering herself, upon the first Accession of *Edward* the Fifth to the Crown, to be deluded by the *false Professions* and Artifices of those whom she had so much Reason to apprehend could mean no Good to her or her Family.

HAD she treated their Friendship and their Enmity, their Counsel and their Slander, with equal Contempt; the Madness of their Rage upon such a Disappointment, would in all Probability, have thrown them upon such Measures, as must have ended in their own undoing; whereas the admitting them into any Share of Credit or Power, was furnishing them, in Proportion to the Degree in which they

they were trusted, with Arms and Ammunition to destroy her self.

I have, in as short a Manner as I could, shown by what Steps the *Title of the House of York was sunk*, (as the *Craftsman* says) *for ever in that of Lancaster* ; and at what Juncture the Schemes of its Destroyers might effectually have been defeated.

AND though my first Intention in this Undertaking, was to refute the unjust Allegation of the *Craftsman*, in placing the Ruin of this Family to the Account of *Edward* the Fourth's Queen ; yet I do not pretend, in the Prosecution of this Design, that these Extracts I have drawn out of *Rapin's* History of our Ancestors, have never squinted at the Characters of some of our Cotemporaries.

NOR that I applaud or think that Manner of Writing a fair, or an honest one ; but to shew those who deal
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in it, that if one did approve, or would give one's self the Liberty they take of Fighting in Disguise, and Stabbing in the Dark, how easy such Historical Masks and Daggers are to be found.

F I N I S.